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ABSTRACT

The use and significance of metaphors in 12 education policy reports are considered, including metaphors that involve conceptions of knowledge and its use (e.g., "knowledge as a landscape," "intellectual activity as a journey"). Some knowledge metaphors are linked to metaphors invoking business, wealth, and capital analogies. Orientational and spatial relationship metaphors are also considered (e.g., humanities are the core of the common studies). Reports that are examined and their authors/sources are as follows: "To Secure the Blessings of Liberty" (American Association of State Colleges and Universities); "To Reclaim a Legacy" (William Bennett); "Transforming the State Role in Undergraduate Education" (Education Commission of the States); "Involvement in Learning" (National Institute of Education); "Integrity in the College Curriculum" (Association of American Colleges Committee); "Sustaining the Vision" (Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching); "Newman's Report of Higher Education Policy" (Carnegie Foundation); "The Undergraduate Experience in America" (Carnegie Foundation); "Time for Results: Governors' 1991 Report on Education"; "A Call for Change in Teacher Education" (The National Commission for Excellence in Teacher Education); "Tomorrow's Teachers" (Holmes Group); and "A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century" (Carnegie Foundation). (SW)

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This paper was presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for the Study of Higher Education held at the San Diego Hilton in San Diego, California, February 14-17, 1987. This paper was reviewed by ASHE and was judged to be of high quality and of interest to others concerned with the research of higher education. It has therefore been selected to be included in the ERIC collection of ASHE conference papers.

Discourse between the university and the public policy arena takes many forms. This paper is an examines one form, that of recently published education policy reports that focus on policies of education. These reports are recognized as sources of knowledge and have the ability to affect policy and funding decisions. The ties and contradictions that are demonstrated through the metaphorical language of each report are a reflection of norms, values and assumptions. This metaphorical language, used as a vehicle for the social distribution of meaning, limits the scope of recognition and the realization of goals as each group tries to compete in the public argument. The meanings, or intentions, are not observable, but can be interpreted or understood. These meanings are not natural but rather are cultural and historical and must be inferred from behavior. To what do the metaphors refer? Is there a consistency in usage across reports? Are the categories created in the reports representative of a mind set? These are the issues addressed in this study.

A significant body of philosophical literature addresses the role of metaphor in language and our understanding of the everyday life world. Riceour (1975) discusses metaphors as the mystery of language. It is the intentionality, or the experiences that are individually, culturally and historically brought to the interpretation that underlie all language. Brent-Madison (1979) identifies the metaphor as an insightful understanding. Metaphors can be distortions of literal and

habitual meanings that make evident previously unnoticed relations or similarities. A good metaphor has the ability to cast an old and familiar experience, and the knowledge of it, into a new light, but is never fully translatable.

The over determinism of the language and the particularity of experience present problems to understanding. As interpretations are made they unwind the embedded meanings. Since perception is itself metaphorical, the understanding of metaphors entails the use of other, different metaphors. Typically, the paraphrasing of a metaphor is to create others to further understand the original. Negation plays a role in the interpretation as well. The implicit notion is that the use of a metaphor entails not only what it is but also what it is not (Brent-Madison, 1979). The trail of embeddedness spirals in at least these two opposite directions at once.

One way to examine the reports is to identify similar metaphorical uses that may be exhibited across the reports. In her examination of anthropological studies, Anne Salmond (1982) has developed a scheme that is insightful in the understanding of the education reports. Working from Black's (in Ortony 1979) acknowledgment that metaphors are self-certifying in how they create the very reality to which they seem to draw attention, Salmond studied the metaphors that relate to knowledge. She uncovered a richness of metaphorical usage that includes flexibility, ambiguity and variations that allow for the negotiation of meaning between the reports, the everyday life world, and the scientific world. Of the

knowledge metaphors she identified, four seem most appropriate for a study of these education reports: knowledge as a landscape; intellectual activity is a journey; understanding is seeing; and facts are natural objects.

Lakoff and Johnson, in their work Metaphors We Live By (1980), identify three types of metaphors that are used in this study and by Salmond as well. They begin with the assumption that metaphors are grounded in simple experiences and cannot be understood in any other manner. Linguistic expressions become the containers of meaning. One of the types the authors identify is the structural metaphor where one concept is metaphorically structured in terms of another. Another type is the orientational metaphor which organizes a whole system of concepts with respect to one another, typically dealing with spatial relations. A third type is the ontological metaphor which views events, activities and ideas as entities and substances which are drawn from the experiences one has with physical objects.

HIGHER EDUCATION REPORTS

The reports to be examined that discuss higher education include: the American Association of State Colleges and Universities (AASCU) report which is titled, "To secure the blessings of liberty;" "To reclaim a legacy" written by William Bennett before his selection to the Department of Education; "Transforming the state role in undergraduate

education," is the report of the Education Commission of the States (ECS); The National Institute of Education (NIE) report is titled, "Involvement in Learning;" "Integrity in the college curriculum" is the report of the Association of American Colleges Committee (AACC); and three reports published by the Carnegie Foundations for the Advancement of Teaching: "Sustaining the vision," "Newman's report of higher education policy," and "The undergraduate experience in America."

FACTS AS NATURAL OBJECTS

The AASCU report uses several types of metaphors involving conceptions of knowledge and its use. In several instances these metaphors are linked to other metaphors invoking business, wealth and capital analogies. In the initial section, where the problem is outlined, knowledge, or the lack of it, is identified as the problem. "Ignorance is the enemy of democracy," and its abundance in other locations has this country "threatened and our economy eroded by highly educated competitors from abroad." Not only have the parameters of the problem been set as being both internal and external to the country, but war has been declared on the lack of knowledge and a game or sports atmosphere has been created as the context the external aspects of the issue. Knowledge, or more precisely the lack of it, has been related to a tangible object that can be fought and the results of the battle linked to the economic concerns of all.

The use of knowledge in the university's activities is tied to business through other metaphors used in the reports. In the AASCU report colleges and universities are said to; "produce teachers," "salvage students," "generate economy," and "are links to knowledge and economic development." The goal of education is to "expand human capital." These metaphors entail the role of higher education as a manufacturing of end products. The knowledge of higher education is one of several resources that is used to fabricate the type of student (product) that is desired. The faculty become, in this analogy, a part of the production process used to salvage the raw materials. This is a very instrumental notion of higher education, its faculty, its knowledge, and its place in the larger society.

The ECS report does not rely as heavily upon the manufacturing metaphors when discussing the role of higher education, the faculty or the students. In other metaphors; however, it indicates a related need for order. In contrast to the narrow and specialized disciplines currently offered on campuses, the report states that the colleges need to develop "a body of common experience and common knowledge" for a "fundamental culture." This elemental culture that is to be produced from the raw resources of the colleges and universities will be composed of mass produced objects. The report calls for a "commonality of values" that will become a "cohesive force in the age of special interests." These, juxtaposed with the manufacturing metaphors, indicate a person

processed in this system of education will be trained and corrected to fit in with the other products. It is as if no special ordering will be allowed, the Model T only comes in black.

In defining the meaning of excellence in higher education the NIE report describes the relations between knowledge, faculty and students through its use of economic analogies. "Excellence in higher education institutions produce demonstrable improvements in student knowledge." These improvements are "achieved efficiently." These metaphors indicate that excellence is manufactured by the institution. At the conclusion of production the student can be identified as markedly different and better. Perhaps the most significant aspect of the conception is that this process of production is done in an effective and efficient manner with little waste of energy or effort. The student and his/her characteristics have been objectified through the process of accumulating knowledge. At a later point, the paper calls for the "mounds of data collected on students to be used" to develop excellence, indicating that the individual has been lost through the use of the natural objects that represent him/her. This knowledge drives the machines in the efficient production.

The faculty are the efficient machines forging the students into the appropriate form. This is shown in several metaphors pertaining to the faculty. The report states that the "faculty and the resources (of the institution) are front loaded" to the students. The institution "delivers curriculum

to students" through the faculty. The faculty are an important part of the fabrication process as recognized by the report. They also become the trucks or pipelines that bring the knowledge that is the curriculum to the students. The faculty have taken on at least two roles in this process, that of fabrication and delivery.

"Sustaining the vision," addresses the federal role in higher education. Its metaphors are those related to developing "partnerships" and using "human resources." The partnership described; however, is placed within the context of the political world. The report discusses the "state of American higher education," indicating that the knowledge of higher education is identified not only as a landscape but one with political boundaries like a state or a country.

The report describes faculty as a group who "produce" scholarship. It asks that the support of the federal government "be expanded to sustain and enrich scholarship." The objects that are being produced by faculty entail a notion of value that can be enhanced through the addition of graduate students to the process, perhaps in the role of a catalyst.

"Vision" concludes by addressing the aims of education. Among those identified are; "to generate new knowledge," "to channel knowledge," and "to shape a citizenry." The role of the faculty has again been reduced and compared to that of a fabricator of products. The end product in this instance is a citizenry who have had their hard, real, objective education

funneled to them, in a prefabricated form.

A disturbing implicit conception which lies embedded in the fabrication metaphor is the normalization and standardization that is accomplished through mass production processes. The need is for order and discipline both inside of the plant for the manufacturing process and exterior to it to control both the raw materials and the final product. There is not much room for personality, creativity or reflection.

UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING

Understanding is seeing is the basis for several metaphors. The AASCU report questions the "enlightened reason" that denies access to higher education. Individuals who become educated are labeled as "enlightened." As the issues to be addressed in the report are established, the implicit notion is that this report provides the reader with the knowledge to see and act in the appropriate and rational manner as evidenced by the use of the forecasting metaphor. The report predicts the future and posits its image. The report formats the data to concretize the argument so that all will see the correct and real position.

The ECS report is not as forceful, but it does state that it will present the knowledge to respond to the issues. This is assisted through the 'knowledge as seeing' metaphor. The report states that it will "explore how current resources can be used to improve undergraduate education." The report will

be an intellectual journey to discover the most appropriate use of the raw materials available to improve the education of undergraduates.

Understanding is seeing carries with it the embedded conception that knowledge is a source of light. The NIE report begins with this metaphor as a way of forming its problematic. "The spotlight of debate (is) focused on elementary and secondary education" and the report wants to "turn the spotlight on higher education." In this way it will illuminate the appropriate knowledge to adjust the explanation and discourse of higher education and use it to rationally present its case so that all can be enlightened.

INTELLECTUAL ACTIVITY AS A JOURNEY

The intellectual activity as a journey metaphor is used to characterize the role of higher education. Variously the AASCU report identifies, "colleges and universities embark," "colleges and universities as pathways to the mainstream," and "colleges and universities as gateways." The negation of these metaphors is also stated, "ignorance is a passageway." Intellectual activity includes a conception of directionality. If the educated person is on the pathway to the mainstream then the uneducated must be on the passageway to the back waters. This is related to the 'understanding is seeing' metaphor through the idea that during one's journey, observations will be made of the natural objects in the landscape.

KNOWLEDGE AS LANDSCAPE

The Bennett report begins with metaphors about the purposes of higher education and in particular the knowledge of the humanities. The report states "educators transmit culture" and "the humanities can be siphoned, diluted or adulterated." The knowledge of the humanities is related to natural objects. Bennett has given culture several qualities of a liquid that can be drained, perhaps moving past other more static forms of knowledge; also the material of the humanities can be diluted by the addition of other types of knowledge that are not as pure. The faculty become pipelines or conduits delivering the appropriate formula. At the conclusion of the report he reaffirms this role when he declares that "each college and university should recognize and accept its role as conveyer of the accumulated wisdom." In this metaphor the knowledge can be stored for usage at a later time by those taking delivery.

Another understanding of this particular metaphor is that knowledge of the humanities is a river. Over the centuries this river cuts its way through the landscape, moving deeper, sometimes flooding and consuming/destroying its banks as its moves to find its own course. At times the river channel is changed or stopped by people who want to use the water. As in the case of the Columbia river being dammed to irrigate the deserts of Washington and Oregon.

In this quote, as well as the first one, the text identifies knowledge as a hard, real, natural object that can

be conveyed, transmitted and accumulated. These analogies speak to what Foucault (1977) calls the ideological representation of society which is a reality fabricated/constituted by the technology of power. For Bennett, the core curriculum is stucied, acknowledged and regulated through examinations, and the certification of the degree.

ORIENTATIONAL, SPATIAL/RELATIONSHIP METAPHORS

Spatial relationship metaphors abound in the reports as a means to locate the significance of the particular knowledge. The Bennett report draws clear pictures of the position of the humanities knowledge. They are referred to as "the core of the common studies." The point is made establishing the "centrality of the humanities" and the identification of the common knowledge that is "essential to college education." His conclusion is that "the college curriculum has a core, a heart and soul, a central place." The personification of the knowledge of the humanities is an attempt to create a more human and individual relationship.

The orientational metaphor plays an similar part in the ECS report. It describes the knowledge of the university as a "core of unity." Other metaphors include: "specialization in undergraduate education is a weakness," "undergraduate education has too narrow (of) objectives, (it has) pre-mature specialization and a failure to be broad and rigorous." The

more positive conceptions are culturally associated with the metaphors broad, core and unity. The type of training that occurs with this knowledge is seen as more positive than the knowledge that is associated with specialization and narrowness.

The orientational metaphors of the NIE report are used to direct and maintain attention to the debate as they construct it. "Diversity should not limit opportunities or lower expectations," indicates a negative value toward multiplistic curriculum, which is understandable given the construction of higher education as a production process where the curriculum is delivered to students. Through negation this points toward a positive value orientation regarding a common core or curriculum. The report continues by admonishing the "narrow programs" and the fact that "students end up with fragmented and limited knowledge." Not only has the metaphor pointed to the particular issue of commonness, but it has also drawn attention to an internal contradiction. While the institution may collect knowledge about the students that objectifies them into parts, the students may not be given that same kind of knowledge. Does this acknowledge the power/knowledge relationship?

These reports have been identified as statements seeking to reform the condition of higher education, and they present an explanatory orientation of knowledge, its creation and its use. Knowledge is seen as a real object that can be seen, measured and categorized. They present a rational account

through the use of facts of the problems of higher education and a straight forward statement of solutions. Not all of the reports are linear in this respect so there is reluctance to label them in this fashion.

ALTERNATIVE CONCEPTIONS

Three reports articulate concerns and present positions in a different conception. The Newman report addresses generic issues across the spectrum of higher education. The report begins by detailing the problems of higher education with the metaphors of knowledge that were originally used in "The Involvement in learning" report. These were the understanding as seeing with knowledge being a light source metaphors directing attention by "focusing" and using a "searchlight" on higher education. He adds to these by asking for a "public scrutiny of" American higher education. The specific problem that the report is identifies is the need for American higher education to be more "effective." The goal of this effective education is outlined in all three Carnegie reports; that of preparing students for citizenship education.

To accomplish this, Newman states that colleges need to "transform liberal education." To do this includes providing "a broad base of knowledge" ...and "developing an entrepreneurial spirit." In the text knowledge is identified as an "important outcome of education." As in the earlier reports, this indicates a manufacturing or fabrication of the

natural objects of knowledge. Entailing the relating analogies of faculty and students as resources to be added to the processes of production.

However, the report later states that "education must be an opening ...to experience" and while assessment/measurement is important "understanding (is more important) than the memorization of facts." The report continues, students "must fashion their own conclusions." Newman is demonstrating a hermeneutical or reflective notion of knowledge. Allowing students to combine their experience in the everyday life world with the knowledge of the classroom to then construct a world that is meaningful on a membership level. Capturing the relationship between language and knowledge this aspect of the text does not use the metaphors exhibited by the other reports.

The AACC report is a rich source of different analogies. It begins by noting the "decline and devaluation of the undergraduate degree." Immediately the end product is measured in economic terms. Describing the problem further, the report refers to the "resources to be exploited" to improve financial aid purposes. Indicating an instrumental application of knowledge. More significantly, because the metaphor is repeated several times, the faculty is charged with "reviving their corporate responsibility to the curriculum." It is unclear where the faculty may lie in this economic program. Are they the raw materials, the equipment, or a part of the management of the production process?

The knowledge metaphors used in this report describe faculty as having "their special disciplinary interests." This metaphor indicates the division of knowledge into fields and control maintained over these areas. "The curriculum must be under constant examination and assessment, as vulnerable to pruning as open to growth." Given the current understanding of agribusiness, this metaphor is insightful in capturing notions of development, production and utilization of knowledge by the faculty and the curriculum. The faculty become both the producers and consumers of knowledge through their research and courses. The measurement of the curriculum addresses the reality of it as constituted by natural object of facts of knowledge.

In turning its attention to students in higher education, the report states "that the road to a coherent undergraduate education can(not) be constructed from ... academic disciplines." This elaboration of the intellectual activity as a journey metaphor carries with it the notion of knowledge as a solid substance. The substance must be constructed from controlled areas given the conception established earlier.

Yet the report's recommendations offer a different approach. In discussing the creation of a population that has a sense of historical consciousness the report states, "facts do not speak for themselves." This metaphor entails a different conception of knowledge than the earlier reports, as well as a potentially different notion of what goes on in higher education. This notion of data as evidence allows for

an interpretative understanding of the world and is an acknowledgment by the report that there are differences in perception of the world. Comprehension of the world is not accomplished by a production process controlled by the system of education, among others, but a creative process that entails the complexities of cultural and historical contexts and places humans as changing participants in an changing environment.

This interpretation is strengthened by a later metaphor with regard to cultural experiences. "To broaden the horizons of understanding ...colleges must provide (students) with access to the diversity of cultures and experiences." This metaphor contains the thematics of Salmond (1982). Intellectual activity is a journey, understanding is seeing, and the spatial idea of broadening all strengthen this different conception of knowledge and the role and responsibility of higher education. As in the Newman report this involves a more hermeneutical approach to knowledge and its use in creating the understanding of the higher education environment.

The Carnegie report states that, "The undergraduate experience in America goes further than the Newman report in acknowledging the complexities of the everyday life world of education. The prologue describes the problem of the undergraduate experience with metaphors relating to isolation, division and conflict. The goal of this report is to off-set the fragmentation of students, faculty and institutions. The metaphors used in the recommendation section reflect notions of

wholeness, connections and balance.

The college experience is compared to "a major rite of passage" and a "path poorly marked." The uses of the metaphorical category of intellectual activity as a journey are consistent with other reports and with most espoused notions of the role of higher education. The guidance down this path; however, is accomplished by means of an "integrated core" which includes "essential knowledge to connections across disciplines and to the application of knowledge to life beyond the campus." In contrast to the other reports, this essential knowledge is to be "blended" knowledge that is developed by the student in cooperation with the institution and the faculty. This is not a production process.

This blend is comprised of "exploring a field in depth" and "put(ting) the specialized field of study in perspective." This imagery calls for reflection by the students, faculty and institution upon the knowledge that has been constructed from the facts as natural objects perspective. While the report recognizes the need for specialization/narrowness of the knowledge from the landscape, it also calls for understanding through a visualization of the place of that specialization in the construction of the life outside of the institution. There is recognition of the open horizon of meanings that can be developed from and for different contexts.

The importance of the language/thought relationship in the construction of the culture and heritage is acknowledged. The metaphorical type, 'understanding is seeing,' is turned in a

different direction. A section of the report attends to the measurement of the outcomes of higher education. The assessments based on "recall" are rejected by the report. These are the types that call for memorization of hard facts. The report recommends a series of evaluations that allow for "the integration of perspectives of knowledge and experience." One aspect of this process should be a group critique of the work of students where each student is a participant. This notion of reflexiveness and critique is missing from the other reports. This captures more of the actuality of how the world is understood through the combination of language and experience. Rather than presenting the problem and solution to the issues of higher education in the categories of knowledge as natural objects, this reports allows for the complexity of higher education and the possible resolution to be potentialities.

This alternative manner of viewing knowledge as constituted in this second grouping of papers is identified as synoptic. This perspective acknowledges that there is more than one way of conceptualizing the world. Contextualiztion through cultural and biographical histories is accomplished through the combination of language and perception. A general view of a whole characterized by comprehensiveness or breadth of view. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) have developed an experimentalist notion of truth being always relative to understand which is based on no universal conceptual system. In a similar manner, these reports bring together several types

of conceptions of knowledge and allow the participants to discover the appropriate conclusions to be made within the context of enlightened and reflective understanding.

TEACHER EDUCATION REPORTS

The reports that were examined in this area were; "Time for results the governors' 1991 report on education," in particular the section on teaching at the secondary level; "A call for change in teacher education," the report of the National Commission for Excellence in Teacher Education (NCETE); "Tomorrow's teachers" is the report of the Holmes Group; the Carnegie report in this area is titled, "A nation prepared: teachers for the 21st century."

FACTS AS NATURAL OBJECTS

As in the reports on higher education these reports can be categorized based upon their construction of knowledge exhibited through the metaphors. The NCETE report identifies teacher education as an "enterprise," and later categorized as "a state function." These two analogies reflect the direction of the metaphors to dominate this report, the relationship between business and the political domain. Teaching is identified as a "field," having particular knowledge that can be "measurable." Teacher knowledge is characterized as "scientific and artistic." This combination seems to indicate

an awareness of the complexities of teaching. The report further states that the mastery of a controllec body of knowledge is not enough to produce "competent professionals." A part of the teacher knowledge is the ability to relate to parents, students and administrators. At this ocint the importance of discourse/language in the activities of teaching appears to be a consiceration of importance.

Yet, when the report makes its recommendations the metaphors slip into an explanatory mode. The recognition of the complexities and artistry of teaching are gone. For example, in the section describing disciplinary programs for teacher education: "teachers are trained;" "teachers need special knowledge," "teacher education programs include specialization," "teaching is analyzed and criticized," and "teacher knowledge can be updated." These conceptions all entail the idea of teachers and students as objectified subjects of a factual, real world.

The accountability section of the report clearly restates the placement of teaching. "The state carries the burden of assessing quality services." Teaching is linked closely to the poles of politics and the business of delivering services to the consumers. These services are assumed to be of a factual /measurable nature so that they can be measured, weighted and evaluated. No attempt is made to incorporate teachers in the development of assessment measures. The measurement of the communication aspect of the teaching process is also ignored.

"Tomorrow's teachers" begins with a heavy reliance upon

the metaphors of sickness. It also uses a number of war metaphors to distinguish the changes for the reforms desired. The knowledge metaphors involve the description of teacher knowledge as natural objects. Examples of this are: "teachers produce scholarship," "teachers knowledge and skills are measurable," "teaching is a field," "teachers make accuisitions of knowledge and skills," "ecucation is studied deeply." These metaphors lead to the program of what a professional teacher does. If the teacher and teaching cannot be broken down into finite part for analysis the specialization of the knowledge of the teachers loses value. Not that value is lost necessarily, but that it become more difficult to establish the valuation of the teacher and his/her knowledge.

The Holmes report establishes as its answer to the teaching problem the development of a profession. This professionalism cannot be accomplished without documentation of objective data. The Holmes report carries the metaphor of teacher as artist further. This involves the fashion in which professional competence is assessed. Teachers have; "planned exhibitions," "performances on tests," and "unannounced observations." These all have the effect of objectifying the teacher and the activities of teaching through the objective knowledge base developed and normalized through the observations.

As metaphorically presented, these measurements utilize surveillance as the manner of categorization and normalization. The norms of teaching will be established through hard, factual

and measurable data. The object of study, the teacher, will now become subjected by the very knowledge that has been generated by his/her activities. This knowledge is then used to define the profession by establishing skill and knowledge levels. In discussing the development of the disciplinary society, Foucault (1977) describes how examinations create the image of the individual as the effect and object of power, as well as the effect and object of knowledge. This has already occurred in education with regard to the teachers and students as evidenced by the manner in which they are described through metaphors. The organized effort to formalize the profession integrates the individual and his/her data into a cumulative system. This process formalizes the individual teacher within the power relations. The process is a cumulative means of control and domination. The process displays the manner of subjection of those who are seen to be objects and the objectification of those who are seen to be subjects. The most disturbing aspect is that this process is so much a part of the education system and the whole society, that there is no questioning of its positive benefits.

KNOWLEDGE AS A LANDSCAPE

"A nation prepared: teachers for the 21st century," relates education to economics through its metaphors as it establishes the issue it is to address. This problem is the slippage of American economic prestige and the value of the

dollar. "Economics and education are two streams of thought that are connected." This is a good example of the knowledge as landscape metaphor. Here, movement or change is being emphasized through the image of the streams. The question of how the streams are connected is answered later in the text. The pipeline metaphor is used to elaborate the relationship between minority economic improvement and having greater number of minorities being teachers. This gives the connection of the streams a plumbing image. The connection between the two streams is not only of human construction but may be subject to leakage.

The relationship between knowledge and economic opportunity is drawn with the metaphors "people need a basic stock of facts," and "knowledge that is wide ranging and understanding that runs deep." This statement incorporates several different types of knowledge. The basic stock of facts implies the natural object knowledge that can be picked up, stored and consumed when necessary. But the orientational metaphors of "wide ranging and understanding that runs deep" indicate another type of cognition. This is the knowledge that is not narrow, specialized and ordered.

In the challenge section of the report the problem of education is described in terms of being real and objective through the metaphors. The metaphors "students bring knowledge and ways of knowing," "teachers feel data," "teachers learn the twists and turns of new knowledge," and "the facts of teaching work force are hard and they build a powerful case,"

represent knowledge as an object of substance. These metaphors do not change with regard to knowledge and its relationship to the economic world. The final test of the analysis is played out with the statement, "professionalism promises much greater returns on our investment by reorienting policy to enhance productivity of teachers." As in several of the higher education reports this has reduced the teacher to a cog in the machinery of education. The student has been objectified into a raw material explained in relation to inputs and outputs and teachers are to be evaluated in terms of productivity via cost benefit analysis.

ALTERNATIVE CONCEPTIONS

In contrast to the generally explanatory mode presented by the reports of the status of teaching and teacher education above, "Time for results: the governors' 1991 report on education" presents a more interpretative account of the issues and the knowledge surrounding them. The paper begins by identifying teachers as a "work force," and the school as "laboratories for education." The scientific and military metaphors indicate that the knowledge that is being developed in the experiments has the benefit of being a natural object.

The results of the educational experiments are elaborated with the aid of data from a Rand study that "reveals" information about teachers. An acknowledgment is made several times that the report, speaking of the Rand report, illustrates

differences that the Governor's report concurs with. To further explain the problematic, the Governors' report outlines how states are "beginning to tap the classroom teachers' perspective" through a variety of means. If understanding is seeing, it is important to incorporate the views of as many of the people who are involved in the process of education as possible. This report identifies alternatives presented through the various view points of the groups involved.

The discussion of knowledge and practice is an example of this. "There is a large body of research that describes productive practice." The metaphors of this sentence indicate an instrumental approach to teaching and its knowledge base. The activities of teaching are observable and the language used to describe them is accurate. But the report continues, "but teachers also have a perspective which is different from theoreticians." This addition of another way of understanding- through perceptions of teachers- incorporates a hermeneutical view of the knowledge, its use and the process of teaching.

The report discusses the need for a national board to define standards. In this section the emphasis is on developing standards to assess teachers' professional capacity. As seen in other reports, this implies a notion of objectification of the subject and the creation of norms and categories imposed as a discipline from the outside; however, the authors call for the inclusion of teachers in the creation of these standard. There is metaphorical language expressing this idea which is tempered through the use of language that

present this concept of multiple modes of reasoning/understanding without drawing analogies.

CONCLUSION

Searle (1979) has stated that to understand metaphors people must have shared strategies to know it is not literal, there must be shared principles that associate expression with possible values of subject and truth condition, and there must be shared strategies that allow the hearer to limit the range of possible values of the metaphor. Metaphors do not appear to be a very realistic way to fashion a discourse about education because of the lack of shared experiences, shared cultural expectations, a shared context, but most importantly because the use of the metaphors indicates a desire to limit dialogue. Also, problems lie in establishing the initial anchors for the meanings of the metaphors for they guide the understanding of the problem and the resolution as proposed by the reports.

In the examination of these reports that are a part of the discourse on education it may be best to view them as heuristic tools of fiction in the manner that Ricoeur (1975) approaches the understanding of text. One should hermeneutically unwind the point of view by using the metaphors as referents to the actuality outside of the language of the text. Recognizing that the objective meaning of the text, determined hermeneutically is distinct from the subjective intention of the author or authors. Each report is taken as a separate

instance of discourse. As such each is a separate text available for interpretation. An examination of this kind establishes a context within which to frame the discourse.

The reports use metaphors as the means of producing reality, in this case western civilization and its conceptions of objects and the rituals of truth. These reports have a powerful effect on how and what decisions are made regarding higher education. These metaphors aid educators at all levels to understand their role and function in the context of the larger society as defined by the reports. But the description of reality is not its essance. Something is defined not by its essance but by relationships with things similar or different (Brent-Madison, 1979). All of the reports reproduce existing conceptions of knowledge and the embedded relationships of power and people. The metaphors inform and create our notions of truth, and if used frequently enough, come to a position of acceptance as the reality rather than a description of it. The description of the essance assumes the literal identification.

The panoptic view, demonstrated in the majority of the reports, eliminates experience and perception as an aspect of the members actions. This point of view incorporates everything in sight without distinguishing any particularities; and therefore creates a linear approach to reality. The relationships as demonstrated by the language are no longer seen to be metaphorical but real and actual. If the description of the problematic is X then the one and usually only answer will be Z because of the limitations imposed by the

metaphors. This limitation is carried over into the rationality used to construct the arguments.

No sense of reform is developed because the current situation is reified through the language and the presentation of the material. There is no attempt to step back from the model of use and engage in a dialectic with the knowledge of the metaphors. The truth value of the metaphor is accepted. The relationship to our own experiences do not provoke surprise or insightful understanding. The use of the metaphors about knowledge are examples of this. There is an acceptance of the metaphor and the conception of the world that they present as natural and therefore real. The expressed concerns for the assessment of education are devoid of human qualities that would personalize and humanize the education processes. Instead, the dominant metaphor is that of education being some type of manufacturing or fabrication process that will turn out a particular type of end product dependent upon the raw material and resources called for in the report. Horkheimer's (1947) discussion of language as a tool in the production of modern society that carries both the tensions of the oppressed and the potential critical aspects needed for the development of a reflective society is demonstrated in these reports.

While most of the reports are referred to as 'reform' reports, that label should be limited to the reports that demonstrate a different conception of knowledge and its use, in the report itself and in the argument of the metaphors. The truly reformational reports propose not only changes in the

activities of education, but also the language used to describe it so that other possibilities can be considered. These reports, previously identified as synoptic, recognize the potential of discourse and do not present, for the most part, metaphors that lend themselves to the closure of dialogue. They allow for all members of the educational process to have a voice in the debate and to construct meaning in their own fashion; given the context of informed and reflexive people within the construct of the dialogue. They acknowledge people as the environment just as much as all other objects, perceptions and ideas. The person and the environment are always in motion; they are not stable, hard or static and neither is the understanding of them (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Krippendorff (1987) has identified this as a social imperative of construction. It calls attention to the possibilities that constrain communication and at the same time holds a commitment to cooperation. The reports presented as alternative conceptions are examples of this use of the knowledge related metaphors.

Reality should be constructed to see rather than to limit one's ability to see reality. Actions will follow from the constructions of reality. Actions which are based upon limited observations of reality will be limited in scope. Without exploring alternatives, constraints cannot be experienced. The readers of these reports trust that the presentation of reality is natural and believe it to be a representation of the every day life world. The reports claim authority/power in

establishing their position. The public and the profession accepts this power through the knowledge presented in the reports. The use of the most inclusive view of reality is the most responsible position. The truly reformational reports hold this position.

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